

## Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

INFO USLO PEKING

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

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E.O. 11652:N/A

TAGS: PFOR, US, TW, CH

SUBJECT: SECRETARY KISSINGER'S REMARKS ON US-CHINA  
POLICY TO THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER  
EDITORS

REFERENCE: TAIPEI 2455

1. TEXT OF THE SECRETARY'S PREPARED REMARKS BEFORE THE  
AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS WAS CARRIED IN  
APRIL 13 WIRELESS FILE. FOLLOWING IS TRANSCRIPT OF  
QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS PERTAINING TO US-CHINA POLICY:

2. QUESTION: JUST TO START THINGS ROLLING, I MIGHT ASK  
THE SECRETARY IF HE WOULD COMMENT ON HOW MUCH EXPOSURE  
HE'S HAD TO THE NEW PREMIER OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF  
CHINA AND HOW LONG HE THINKS IT MIGHT TAKE FOR THAT  
SITUATION TO SETTLE INTO SOME FORM OF STABILITY?

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3. SECRETARY KISSINGER: I HAVE NEVER MET THE NEW PREMIER

OF CHINA, AND I HAVE HAD OCCASION TO SAY PREVIOUSLY THAT WE REALLY KNOW VERY LITTLE MORE THAN IS PUBLICLY AVAILABLE ABOUT THE DEBATES THAT ARE NOW GOING ON INSIDE CHINA.

IT IS OUR IMPRESSION THAT, AS OF NOW, THE BASIC DIRECTION OF CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY IS NOT AFFECTED BY THE DOMESTIC CHANGES THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE THERE. BUT WE HAVE HAD, ON THE GOVERNMENTAL LEVEL, NO CONTACT WITH THE NEW PRIME MINISTER.

4. QUESTION: MAY I ANSWER (SIC), TO FOLLOW UP BRIEFLY ON THAT QUESTION, BY CITING EAST ASIAN SPECIALISTS, BOTH OUTSIDE THE GOVERNMENT AND EVEN INSIDE THE GOVERNMENT, WHO ARE BEGINNING TO EXPRESS A FEAR THAT WE LOST, AS A NATION, A PRECIOUS OPPORTUNITY TO RECTIFY OUR RELATIONS WITH CHINA IN A MORE FINAL SENSE FULFILLING THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE -- THROUGH RECOGNIZING TAIWAN; THROUGH KEEPING A TACIT DEFENSE AGREEMENT AND ESTABLISHING FULL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC. ALL THIS TO HAVE BEEN DONE WHILE CHOU EN-LAI WAS ALIVE -- IF POSSIBLE, CERTAINLY BEFORE MAO PASSES. DO YOU FEEL YOURSELF, SIR, SOME SADNESS ABOUT A LOST OPPORTUNITY IN THAT REGARD, AND DO YOU THINK IT COULD BE RETRIEVED?

5. SECRETARY KISSINGER: I BELIEVE THAT BASICALLY THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES IS BASED ON NECESSITY. THAT IS TO SAY, WE WERE BROUGHT TOGETHER BECAUSE INTERNATIONAL TRENDS PRODUCED A CERTAIN COMPATIBILITY OF INTEREST. THE ISSUE OF TAIWAN IS, OF COURSE, IMPORTANT; AND THE UNITED STATES STATED CERTAIN PRINCIPLES IN THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE WITH RESPECT TO THE ISSUE OF TAIWAN. BUT I BELIEVE THAT THE DOMINANT FACTOR IN THE RELATIONSHIP HAS BEEN THE DEGREE TO WHICH WE HAVE LOOKED AT CERTAIN PROBLEMS IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS IN A PARALLEL MANNER. THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE HAS FACED PROBLEMS BECAUSE OF DOMESTIC UPHEAVALS HERE AND DOMESTIC UPHEAVALS IN CHINA. BUT THE DIRECTION IS CLEAR, AND IT WILL BE IMPLEMENTED. SO I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THAT HAS BEEN A MAJOR FACTOR IN US-CHINESE RELATIONS. AND I BELIEVE

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THAT THE TRENDS THAT ARE TAKING PLACE IN CHINA -- AND WHATEVER QUESTIONS THERE MAY EXIST IN CHINA -- DEPEND MUCH MORE ON THEIR ASSESSMENT OF OUR CAPACITY TO CONDUCT A GLOBAL POLICY THAT UNDERSTANDS GEOPOLITICAL FACTORS THAN IT IS TIED TO TAIWAN. ROBINSON

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